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361 To conclude then, we are dealing with a tribe in which residence is never fixed in one exact locality, whether for the community or for the individual, but in which we find, almost paradoxically, a deep sentimental attachment to different parts of the country—either because they are being used, or have been used, as human habitations, because of their historical significance, or else their association with supernatural beliefs. We are describing a people living in a sparsely populated country, in which there would seem to be no sound economic reason why a community should settle in one spot rather than another. But the choice is not in fact unlimited. It depends on directly sociological factors such as membership of a kinship group and acceptance of a political allegiance, a belief as to the sphere of influence of certain supernatural beings, and lastly the factors, which we must now consider, the tribal rights as to the use of land.

Divisions of Land.

423 Europeans living in Northern Rhodesia often declare that the Bemba have no system of land tenure, and at first sight there is a good deal to be said for this point of view. A new-comer to the country notices at once the lack of boundaries between the garden beds round a village. As he travels through the bush he cannot avoid being struck by the apparently haphazard way in which natives sometimes start to make gardens, cut a few trees, and then abandon the site, and by the fact that they do not even mark out the limits of the space they mean to clear in any one year. The observer will also notice that in the course of ordinary conversation no Bemba lists among his assets his possession or occupation of a given tract of land. Few disputes as to the ownership of land or its rights of use appear before the courts, and the question does not usually figure in contested inheritances.

But because the land problem is not so acute in this area, as it is in many parts of present-day Africa, we cannot conclude that there are no tribal rights as to its use, and in fact from some points of view it is even more important to discover the exact relation of man to land among a population of shifting cultivators, than it is in a tribe where the rules of ownership are more formalized.

423 To begin with, how is the land initially subdivided?
631 *Icalo.* The biggest division recognized is the *i-calo* (plur.
823

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i-fyalo). This is a term applied to the whole of the Bemba territory, but also used to describe the district under the rule of a particular chief. The Paramount and the territorial chiefs under him, such as Mwamba, Nkula, Nkolemfumu, Mpepo, Cikwanda, &c., each rule over a tract of country with more or less definite boundaries, which has its own name dating back to the very early days of the Bemba occupation.[1] Each of these districts is known as the *icalo* of such-and-such a chief. Some are sub-divided into smaller districts under the rule of a sub-chief. Thus the *icalo* may be defined as a political division, and its inhabitants have a certain economic unity since they all pay tribute to the one chief and expect to receive help, supernatural or material, from him.

Mpanga, the word used for 'bush', is also sometimes applied in a more restricted sense to mean the area immediately surrounding a headman's village, that is to say the few miles between one small stream and the next. The *bakabilo* or hereditary councillors of the Paramount, claim to be owners of their *mpanga* by right of descent from the first holders of their titles, who were appointed to the district by the first Citimukulu. Therefore they may not move their village beyond the distance between one river and the next. They claim supernatural powers over the area, and in some cases may prevent the chief from being carried through it.[2] But in the case of an ordinary headman the term *mpanga yandi* hardly means more than 'the neighbourhood of my village'.

Mpanga may also mean the strip of bush between one open marshy place and the next. This country is so well watered that a traveller along an inter-village path passes one tiny stream after another at intervals of four to five miles, and the Bemba make a rough calculation of distance by this means. 'We shall pass three *mpanga* and camp at a village in the fourth', they say, and the term gives some idea of the probable length of the journey.[3]

Cultivated land is divided into (*a*) *mputa*, or village mounds, a circular band about 300 yards across round the village, (*b*) *ifitemene* (sing. *icitemene*), the millet gardens which are cut in the bush each year, at first near the village and then farther and farther out until

[1] e.g. Ituna is the *icalo* of Mwamba, Icinga that of Nkula, &c.

[2] The Cimba, Munuca, Citikafula, Katenda, Cikutwe, all have this right since the sacred relics they possess are so powerful that they might harm the Paramount himself.

[3] C. Doke records the same method of measuring the journey's length among the Lamba, *The Lambas*, 1931, p. 18.

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TABLE D

Notes on the Structure of the Bemba Village

I. *Table showing the length of life of the Bemba villages of three big chiefs' territories*, 1934.

Citimukulu's territory (Lubemba): 160 villages.
Mwamba's territory (Ituna): 69 villages.
Nkula's territory (Icinga): 76 villages.

	Citimukulu	*Mwamba*	*Nkula*
	%	%	%
New villages (i.e. headmen appointed in reign of present chief)	29	49	42
Villages with 1 previous holder of headmanship	16	26	9
Villages with 2 previous holders of headmanship	10	14	18
Village with 3 previous holders of headmanship	40	10	13
Villages formed by remnants of 2 or more old villages	6	..	15

It will be noted that the proportion of new headmanships created by each chief in his own reign is just under half the total titles in the case of the territorial chiefs, about 30 per cent. in the case of the Paramount chief.

The striking difference between the number of old titles to headmanships in Citimukulu's territory and those of the other two chiefs, i.e. 40 per cent. as against 10 and 13 per cent. respectively, is due to the concentration of the hereditary councillors of the tribe (*bakabilo*) who must inevitably be headmen for social, political, and ritual reasons, in Citimukulu's district.

II. *Table showing the proportion of commoner headmen to those of royal blood*, and hence the political powers of the chief.

	Citimukulu	*Mwamba*	*Nkula*
	%	%	%
Number of commoner headmen	49	42	42
Number of hereditary councillors or priests, acting as headmen	30	6	17
Number of descendants of wives of early chiefs acting as headmen	3	..	..
Number of chief's relatives acting as headmen	19	41	33
Number of headmen from other tribes	..	10	10

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THE CHIEFDOMS OF THE LOWER LUAPULA VALLEY

In Belgian Congo: approximate limit of the Kingdom of the Nkoba.
In N. Rhodesia: approximate limit of the Kingdom of the Kaizembe and of its component Chiefdoms.

Bemba colony

BOUNDARIES
International
Provincial
District

Scale 0 10 20 30 40 Miles

[facing p. 77]

131 towards the Luapula and, in several respects, markedly differing from the surrounding plateau country.

226 The abundance of fish in the Luapula, which is free from rapids and easily navigable below Johnston Falls near the mouth of the Lunga, makes fishing an important economic pursuit in which virtually all the adult male population participate and to which are attached elaborate ritual observances. (see below p.96) Besides being an important item in the native [439] diet, fish constitutes the chief trading asset of the country.

134 On the plateau, where soils are poorer and the population is almost 241 exclusively dependent on agriculture for its livelihood, the shifting *citemene* system of cultivation is the rule. In the valley, however, the rich alluvial deposits make possible a semi-permanent mound cultivation; this removes the necessity for changing village sites periodically and results in a greater stability. Cassava, of little account on the plateau, where finger millet and Kaffir corn predominate, is the staple food crop in the valley.

186 Common traditions accumulated over two centuries, during which the valley constituted the core of Kazembe's kingdom, have made the population conscious and proud of its past.

611 The patrilineal reckoning of descent introduced and established by the Lunda, as well as their tribal heterogeneity, mark the valley peoples off from the matrilineal and ethnically homogeneous neighbouring tribes: the Shila-Butya (north west), Shila (north), Lunga, Chishinga (east), Mukulu, Aushi (south), Lamba (south-west), and Lunetwa (west).

631 The Kazembe is now Paramount over the western (Northern Rhodesia) side of the valley, ruling directly in the province surrounding his capital. His kingdom is divided into eight chiefdoms, ruled by the following chiefs (from Lake Mweru southward): Kambwali, Kanyembo, Kazembe himself, Lukwesa, Lukundo, Kashiba, Mulundu, and Kotuta. Sub-chiefs Mayembe and Kapesa administer two districts carved out of the metropolitan chiefdom but cannot hold courts. Lubemba, Mulundu, Kotuta and Kapesa are of Chishinga extraction, the others are Lunda.

Kilwa island, with its Swahili chief Nshinba, now falls outside the Kazembe's kingdom.

TRIBAL MIXTURE

166 As a result of piecemeal settlement and frequent inter-marriage the com-
69 ponent tribal groups are as a rule distributed over the whole territory. Local concentrations occur nevertheless: the Shila and Tabwa predominate in the extreme north, the Lunga in the Mulele district, the Chishinga in the Mwansabi valley. A Bemba colony occupies land between Lake Mofwe and Lake Mweru granted to Mwewambuga in return for the assistance given by his brother Mwaba, a Bemba chief, in opposing the invading Bayeke and re-establishing the fugitive Kazembe. On Kilwa island the descendants of Swahili slavers and Nyamwezi copper traders live alongside the aboriginal Shila.

The bulk of the population is made up of the Shila, Lunda, Chishinga,

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631 The kingdom of Kazembe extended from the Lualaba to the Bemba country and from the Aushi paramount chiefdom of Meremere to the Tabwa chiefdom of Nsama. The districts at a distance from the capital were governed and defended by resident *bakulamo* (watchmen) appointed by and answerable to
636 the Kazembe. Outlying dependencies, *amayanga* (sing. *yanga*), were controlled by Kazembe's agents who travelled with their *mabumba* (retinues) to
701 collect the tribute. There was no standing army.(1) In time of general war the governor of the frontier district, Moenempanda,(2) commanded the troops raised by provincial chiefs.

361 The earlier capital, on the eastern side of Lake Mofwe, had to be moved to a new site at the death of a Kazembe.(3) It was surrounded by a
643 deep ditch(4) and enclosed with a wall of reeds. Its gateway was decorated with dozens of human skulls.(5) On returning to his country after
644 the Yeke raids had been beaten off, Kazembe moved the capital farther south to Mwansabombwe where it has remained. The Kazembe had a large corps of palace officials, many of whom were his *bocanums* (fellow-clansmen of his mother), and a bodyguard.(6) Fumo Anceva,(7) the Kazembe's chamberlain, superintended the management of the palace, escorted foreigners and arranged audiences. There were five classes or ranks of Lunda: Kazembe and his family; the descendants of the Lunda chiefs from Musta Yamvo's country; those of the Luba chiefs from the Lualaba invested by Musta Yamvo; those of the clan heads who came with the first Lunda expedition; and those descended from the indigenous Shila chiefs and headmen admitted to Lunda-hood. Only sons of a Kazembe by a Lunda woman of the second or third rank were eligible for the position of Kazembe.(8) A reigning Kazembe usually recognised his successor officially.(9) The badge of office, the *lukano* armband, had to be transferred from the arm of the dead Kazembe to that of his successor.(10) A *mutaba*-tree leaf was inserted in his mouth during the enthronement ceremony.

643 Kazembe and his household lived in the *mosumbo*, the royal enclosure.(11)
644 His first four wives were given traditional names: Moari, Intemena, Kasaleuca, Fuama.(12) The families (? lineages) of women who had borne a Kazembe formed a nobility. Their members were the *bacalulua*.

624 Village headmen are nowadays administrative and ritual officials. They transmit the decisions of the Native Authority; they act as mediators in disputes, and endeavour to settle them amicably without the parties going to court; they organise work-parties to clear channels and repair village fences; they tend the village medicine (*mahipa*), ritually purify lion-killers, and take ritual measures to end a drought. Formerly they officiated at the sowing and first-fruits ceremonies. They are appointed by the Kazembe from among the members of their predecessor's *cikota*. District
622 chiefs hear cases in the first instance. An appeal from their decisions can be made to Kazembe, who is head of the Native Authority. The chiefs have succeeded the tax-collectors who were established under the British

(1) Valdez, II, p.238.
(2) Gamitto, I, p.246; II, p.18; Burton, p.130.
(3) Livingstone, I, pp.267, 264; Burton, p.139.
(4) Burton, p.43.
(5) Livingstone, I, p.247.
(6) Valdez, II, p.238.
(7) Burton, pp.101, 108.
(8) Gamitto, II, p.17.
(9) Valdez, II, p.232.
(10) Gamitto, II, pp.35-6.
(11) Valdez, II, p.234.
(12) ibid., p.254.

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634 the Zulu, Swazi and other tribes with the regiment system. The
622 *icalo* is also a ritual unit. At each capital are the sacred relics
778 (*bakenye*) of the first holders of the chiefly title and their ancestral spirits are thought to act as tutelary deities of the district, and are worshipped at the *umusumba*, at village shrines, and old hut sites throughout the country, and are also commonly supposed to act as guardian spirits to children born within the *icalo*.[1] Naturally the ritual and political organization of the paramount's capital is more elaborate than that of his inferiors, but even the smallest sub-chief maintains his miniature court and tries to ape the state of those above him, while the bigger territorial chiefs sometimes rivalled the power of the Citimukulu in the old days.

622 The territorial chieftainships are arranged in order of prece-
631 dence, according to their nearness to the centre of the country—
643 Lubemba—and the antiquity of their office. To the most important of these chiefdoms—the Mwambaship, the Nkulaship, the Nkolemfumuship, and the Mpepoship, for instances—the Citimukulu appoints his nearest relatives, the one succeeding the other in order of seniority. Thus the present Citimukulu, Kanyanta, has acted in turn as the Nkolemfumu, and the Mwamba before succeeding to the paramountcy (cf. chart on p. 102). On the other hand, the sub-chieftainships have tended to become concentrated in local branches of the royal family, and the paramount's strong grip over the country and his intimate knowledge of affairs at the courts of his fellow chiefs is certainly weaker in these outlying districts than in the case of chiefdoms ruled by his close relatives.

641 To the commoner, membership of an *icalo* means his allegiance to the chief of that territory. He will describe himself as an inhabitant of a district, such as *Icinga*, i.e. *mwine Icinga* or, alternatively, as the subject of its chief, Nkula, i.e. *mwine Nkula*, and both terms are synonymous. He may move from village to village within the *icalo*, but he remains his chief's man. The latter, in his turn, reckons his assets, not in terms of the size of his territory or its natural resources, but rather by the number of his people and in particular the villages he has under his rule.

554 (3) *Rank*. Rank is a marked feature of Bemba society. It is
565 based on kinship, real or fictitious, with the chief. All members of the royal crocodile clan (*Bena ganda*) are entitled to special respect, precedence on ritual and social occasions, and sometimes

[1] Hence the great preponderance of one or two birth-names in each district.